

## Message Text

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ACTION NEA-09

INFO OCT-01 ISO-00 CIAE-00 DODE-00 PM-03 H-01 INR-07 L-02

NSAE-00 NSC-05 PA-01 PRS-01 SP-02 SS-15 USIA-06 OMB-01

COME-00 EB-07 LAB-04 SIL-01 AID-05 /071 W

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R 112340Z FEB 75

FM AMEMBASSY DACCA

TO SECSTATE WASHDC 5769

INFO AMCONSUL CALCUTTA

AMEMBASSY NEW DELHI

C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTION 1 OF 2 DACCA 0794

E.O. 11652: GDS

TAGS: PINT,PGOV,BG

SUBJECT: MUJIB'S DISPENSATION: ONE FOR ALL

SUMMARY: ANNOUNCEMENT OF THE NATIONAL PARTY AND FURTHER  
CHANGES IN THE CABINET ARE EXPECTED IN THE NEXT FEW  
WEEKS. END SUMMARY.

1. FORMATION OF THE NEW NATIONAL--AND SOLE LEGITIMATE--  
PARTY IS WIDELY ANTICIPATED SOMETIME IN THE NEXT FEW  
WEEKS, POSSIBLY AS EARLY AS FEBRUARY 14. THE JATIYO  
DAL (NATIONAL PARTY), AS IT IS BEING CALLED, WILL  
HAVE A SMALL EXECUTIVE OR CENTRAL COMMITTEE AND A LARGER  
ORGANIZING COMMITTEE, ACCORDING TO OUR SOURCES. THE  
CENTRAL COMMITTEE (ONE MP CALLED IT "POLITBURO," ANOTHER  
AWAMI LEAGUER REFERRED TO IT AS "PRESIDUIM") MAY CONSIST  
OF 12 MEMBERS, ALMOST ALL TO BE AWAMI LEAGUE VETERANS  
OR OTHERS CLOSE TO MUJIB. THE ORGANIZING COMMITTEE OF  
70 TO 75 PERSONS MAY INCLUDE INTER ALIA 45 MEMBERS COM-  
PRISING THE COUNCIL OF MINISTERS, STATE MINISTERS AND  
DEPUTY MINISTERS (THE LATTER TITLE YET TO BE CREATED BUT  
INTENDED FOR CHAIRMEN OF GOVERNMENT CORPORATIONS, AMONG  
OTHERS) AND 11 MEMBERS WHO WILL REPRESENT POLITICAL  
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PARTIES WHICH WILL HAVE BEEN DISSOLVED. TWO TYPES OF

MEMBERSHIP ARE BEING CONSIDERED: FULL MEMBERSHIP FOR IMPORTANT AWAMI LEAGUERS SUCH AS MP'S AND OTHERS DEEMED WORTHY; AND ASSOCIATE MEMBERSHIP, WHICH CAN LEAD AFTER A TWO-YEAR TRIAL PERIOD TO FULL MEMBERSHIP. MUJIB IS REPORTEDLY NEGOTIATING WITH OTHER POLITICAL PARTIES SUCH AS NAP/MUZAFFAR AND THE CPB, HIS CURRENT COLLEAGUES IN THE UNITED FRONT, WITH ATAUR RAHMAN KHAN'S JATIYO LEAGUE, AND WITH FORMER MUSLIM LEAGUE LEADERS SUCH AS SABUR KHAN. WE HAVE NOT HEARD OF ANY APPROACHES SO FAR TO THE NATIONAL SOCIALIST PARTY (JSD) WHOSE LEADERS ARE IN JAIL; THE REMNANTS OF NAP/BHASHANI, OR THE TINY LEFTIST PEOPLE'S LIBERATION UNION. HOW MANY WILL AGREE TO JOIN WITH MUJIB IS DIFFICULT TO PREDICT.

2. ALSO ANTICIPATED WITHIN THE MONTH ARE FURTHER CHANGES IN THE COUNCIL OF MINISTERS AND IN SENIOR GOVERNMENT PERSONNEL AND A POSSIBLE RESTRUCTURING OF QUASI-POLITICAL ORGANIZATIONS. NAP/M AND CPB LEADERS ARE REPORTEDLY EXPECTING TO OBTAIN A LEAST A FEW DEPUTY MINISTERIAL POSTS; IN FACT, ONE SOURCE INSISTS PROF. MUZAFFAR HAD EXPECTED THAT HIS PARTY WOULD BE GIVEN TWO PORTFOLIOS IN THE COUNCIL ANNOUNCED JANUARY 26. CHANGES IN SENIOR GOVERNMENT PERSONNEL MAY BE ACCOMPANIED BY STRUCTURAL CHANGE WITHIN THE MINISTRIES. SO FAR, MUJIB HAS LIMITED CHANGE TO MOVING TO HIS OWN STAFF A.K.M. AHSAN FROM THE PLANNING COMMISSION TO BE IN CHARGE OF THE PROJECTS IMPLEMENTATION BUREAU, AND GENERAL MAJIDUL HUQ, CHAIRMAN OF STEEL MILLS CORPORATION, TO ALSO COORDINATE PETROCHEMICAL AND NATURAL RESOURCE AFFAIRS.

3. IT IS GENERALLY ANTICIPATED THAT IF THE PRESIDENT INSTITUTES THE ONE PARTY, HE WILL ALSO SET UP SINGLE LABOR, PEASANT AND STUDENT FRONTS, THUS ELIMINATING THE GROUPS NOW ASSOCIATED WITH THE POLITICAL PARTIES AND IMPOSING A CENTRALIZED CONTROL. IT IS LIKELY THAT THE PRESIDENT'S NEPHEW , SHEIKH MONI, ASPIRING LABOR LEADER WHO MANY BELIEVE TO BE THE MOST IMPORTANT INFLUENCE UPON MUJIB AT PRESENT, WOULD HEAD THE LABOR FRONT. MUJIB'S SON, SHEIKH KAMAL, AND HIS OTHER NEPHEW, SHEIKH SYEDUL ISLAM. ARE MENTIONED FOR STUDENT AFFAIRS LEADERS.

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4. AS THE DAYS PASS AND MUJIB CONTINUES TO HOLD HIS PLANS RELATIVELY CLOSELY, THE TASTE FOR THE CONSPIRATORIAL REASON HAS SPURRED THE FLOW OF RUMORS. THE IDEA THAT THE ONLY POLITICAL OPTION TO MUJIB IS TO GO UNDERGROUND IS SPREADING, AND AS ONE APPARENT RESULT, A RUMOR HAS CROPPED UP THAT THE PRESIDENT NOW PROPOSED TO ESTABLISH AN ARMED YOUTH FORCE UNDER ABDUR RAZZAK

(AWAMI LEAGUE ORGANIZING SECRETARY) TO PURGE THE NEW PARTY OF THOSE WHO ARE ITS--OR SHEIKH MUJIB'S--SECRET OPPONENTS. WE EXPECT THAT THE RUMORS WILL BECOME INCREASINGLY VIVID AS BENGALEE POLITICAL OBSERVERS ATTEMPT TO REORIENT THEIR VIEWS OF POLITICAL LIFE IN BANGLADESH.

5. TURNING AWAY FROM THE EARLY FUTURE TO THE IMMEDIATE PAST, SEVERAL SOURCES HAVE CONFIRMED THAT OBVIOUS: THAT MUJIB RAILROADED THE CONSTITUTIONAL AMENDMENT THROUGH PARLIAMENT. AT THE PARLIAMENTARY PARTY MEETINGS HELD BEFORE THE JATIYO SANGSAD SESSION OF JANUARY 25, MUJIB PERMITTED NO DISCUSSION OF THE AMENDMENT. SIX MP'S SPOKE AT ONE MEETING, FIVE AT THE OTHER; BUT ONE OF THE SPEAKERS, WHO IS DEEPLY TROUBLED AT THE SUBSEQUENT "DEATH OF PARLIAMENT," SAID THAT HE SPOKE ONLY AT THE REQUEST OF MUJIB AND THEN VERY CAUTIOUSLY. THIS MP CLAIMS THAT ASIDE FROM A FEW IN POWERFUL POSITIONS (SUCH AS MINISTERS CONCERNED WITH KEEPING THEIR JOBS), EVERYONE ELSE IN THE PARLIAMENTARY PARTY OPPOSES THE AUTOCRATIC PRESIDENTIAL SYSTEM. THEY WERE, HOWEVER, HE SAID, POWERLESS TO PREVENT

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NSAE-00 NSC-05 PA-01 PRS-01 SP-02 SS-15 USIA-06 OMB-01

COME-00 EB-07 LAB-04 SIL-01 AID-05 /071 W

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C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTION 2 OF 2 DACCA 0794

THE OUTCOME AND HAVE NO ALTERNATIVE NOW EXCEPT TO ACQUIESCE OR GET OUT OF POLITICS, IF NOT THE COUNTRY.

6. WHILE VAGUE TALK OF UNDERGROUND OPPOSITION INCREASES, A SIMILAR SENSE OF IMPOTENCE, OF INABILITY TO RESIST MUJIB' WILL HAS BEEN VOICED BY OTHERS IN THE PARTY AND PUBLIC LIFE. WE CAN ONLY SPECULATE THAT TWO FACTORS PREVENTED MP'S FROM AT LEAST PROTESTING TO MUJIB HIS ORDER TO PARLIAMENT TO COMMIT SUICIDE. GIVEN THE CAUTION OF REMARKS TO US, MP'S MAY HAVE CONSIDERED THEMSELVES LIABLE TO EMERGENCY RULES SHOULD THEY ATTEMPT TO THWART THE SHEIKH. SECONDLY, SOME MEMBERS CERTAINLY HAVE COMPROMISED THEMSELVES BADLY DURING THESE PAST THREE YEARS OF AWAMI LEAGUE RULE BY BENEFITTING MATERIALLY FROM THEIR POSITIONS. MUJIB KNOWS WHERE THE SKELETONS ARE BURIED.

7. A FEW AWAMI LEAGUERS, MORE SENSITIVE THAN MOST, HAVE APPARENTLY RESIGNED FROM THE PARTY TO PROTEST THE CHANGE, ITS MANNER OF ACCOMPLISHMENT, AND ITS EXPECTED CONSEQUENCES. NONE OF THE RESIGNATIONS HAVE, HOWEVER, BEEN PUBLICLY ANNOUNCED. THAT OF FORMER MINISTER GENERAL OSMANI SEEMED WIDELY KNOWN. ANOTHER MENTIONED IS MOINUL HOSSAIN, ATTORNEY AND CHAIRMAN OF THE EDITORIAL CONFIDENTIAL

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BOARD OF ITTEFAQ AND ELDER BROTHER OF ITS OUTSPOKEN EDITOR, ANWAR. A THIRD MP REPORTED TO HAVE RESIGNED IS AZIZUR RAHMAN OF KHUSTIA, WHO BROKE WITH MUJIB ONCE BEFORE IN 1970. MOINUL HOSSAIN'S RESIGNATION MAY BE ACCOMPANIED BY THE CLOSURE OF ITTEFAQ. THERE IS SPECULATION THAT ANWAR HOSSAIN WILL SHUT DOWN THE NEWSPAPER, OF FORCE THE GOVERNMENT TO BAN IT, RATHER THAN ALLOW IT TO BECOME A GOVERNMENT MOUTHPIECE. MUJIB IS REPORTEDLY PLANNING TO PERMIT ONLY TWO BENGALI AND TWO ENGLISH LANGUAGE DAILY NEWSPAPERS NATIONWIDE, AND THESE ARE TO PUBLISH ONLY GOVERNMENT-APPROVED STORIES. THAT MUJIB IS SUPPOSEDLY TRYING TO PERSUADE MOINUL HOSSAIN NOT TO RESIST AND ITTEFAQ TO SUPPORT HIM IS UNDERSTANDABLE. THE INFLUENTIAL ITTEFAQ WAS FOUNDED BY MANIK MIA, LONG MUJIB'S CLOSE FRIEND, CONFIDANT, AND SUPPORTER. A REPUDIATION BY MANIK MIA' SONS, TO WHOM HE STANDS IN THE RELATIONSHIP OF AN UNCLE, WOULD SEVERELY UNDERCUT MUJIB'S EFFORTS TO PRESENT TO THE COUNTRY THE APPEARANCE OF NATIONAL UNITY AND UNIVERSAL SUPPORT FOR HIS ASSUMPTION OF ALL POWERS.

8. COMMENT BY BENGALLEES IS STILL MUTED. BUT ALREADY THE FEAR OF VIOLENCE AND THE BELIEF THAT ARMED OPPOSITION IS INEVITABLE HAVE SURFACED. BY WAY OF ILLUSTRATION, AN AMERICAN-EDUCATED BENGALLEE PROFESSOR FROM RAJSHAHI VISITED THE CONSULAR SECTION TO REGISTER HIS U.S. CITIZEN CHILD AND ENQUIRE ABOUT EMBASSY EVACUATION PLANS.

THE PROFESSOR AND HIS ACADEMIC FRIENDS BELIEVE THAT A REVOLT (BY IMPLICATION LED BY THE MILITARY) IS FATED. ALTHOUGH WE NOW HEAR FROM THE MFA THAT KAMAL HOSSAIN IS RETURNING THIS WEEK, AN IMPORTANT MP AND FORMER MINISTER OF FEW DAYS AGO EXPLAINED THE ONE-AND-FUTURE FOREIGN MINISTER'S ABSENCE BY SAYING THAT KAMAL WAS AWAITING DEVELOPMENTS, BY IMPLICATION THE OUSTER OF MUJIB. NOTWITHSTANDING THAT TALK OF VIOLENCE, AND UNDERGROUND OR A COUP IS OFFER THE BENGAL'S RESPONSE TO POLITICAL SITUATIONS WHICH DISTRESS AND BEWILDER HIM. IT IS AN ATTITUDE THAT IS BEING EXPRESSED BY SOMBER AND EXPERIENCED OBSERVERS WHO BELIEVE THAT MUJIB HAS PAINTED NOT ONLY HIMSELF BUT HIS COUNTRYMEN INTO A CORNER. GRANTED, SOME OBSERVERS TALK WITH OPTIMISM OF THE POSI-  
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TIVE CHANGES NOW POSSIBLE, BUT THEIR REMARKS ARE REMINISCENT OF THOSE OPTIMISTIC STATEMENTS VOICED BY THE FEARFUL IN THE MONTHS IMMEDIATELY FOLLOWING MARCH 25, 1971.  
BOSTER

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